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## NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL.

SPEECH OF HON. FREDERICK E. WHITE, OF  
IOWA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENT-  
ATIVES,

MONDAY, April 18, 1892.

The House being in Committee of the Whole and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 7093) making appropriations for the Navy—

Mr. WHITE said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I have sat here in this House since the beginning of the session and have listened, but until we took up this naval appropriation bill, have listened in vain for a voice bold enough to be raised in opposition to the warpolicy which at the present time so conspicuously pervades every department of this Government.

I must confess that it affords me infinite gratification to learn that I am not the only member upon this floor who holds to the conviction that civilized man the world over has outlived the period in his history when war can be said or held to be either necessary or useful. But if I were alone, and even if I were to be vigorously condemned in advance, I should not hesitate in the least to enter my most earnest protest against the prevailing delusion that the honor of the Government and the dignity of our people can be maintained only by building ponderous war vessels equipped with cannon 40 feet long, capable of throwing enormous masses of metal from 10 to 15 miles.

In protesting against this policy and voting against the proposition of the Naval Committee to enlarge our naval establishment by building an additional cruiser to cost nearly \$4,000,000, I am not actuated by the slightest trace of any treasonable motive or the least unfriendliness towards American institutions. On the contrary, I shall vote against this increase of our naval strength because of my intense conviction that liberty in this country can best be maintained and our institutions can best be perpetuated by abandoning the perilous war preparations urged by the committee and inspired by the Administration, and inaugurating a national policy more in harmony with the spirit of the age.

When you have built this modern navy of which we hear so much, at an expenditure of three or four hundred million dollars, what do you intend to do with it? Upon what nation do you intend to make war? Whose commerce will you sweep from the ocean? Where are the cities you are going to demolish? We certainly shall not need a navy wherewith to subjugate our own people. And is it not true that a firm determination to treat all others with absolute justice and fairness is the most efficient protection a nation can call to its aid?

To prepare for war is in many instances to invite it. When he has gone through a course of training, when he has hardened his muscles, the pugilist is naturally anxious to enter the ring. It has been stated during this debate that our Navy saved us from a war with Chili; the historic truth of that affair is, that if it had not been for the indiscreet conduct of a part of our Navy, the occasion for a controversy would not even have arisen, much less any cause for war.

I am not antagonizing this measure because, being a Democrat, I might be expected to be willing to help discredit the policy of a Republican Administration. I well know a Democratic committee has brought this bill into the House, and I well remember that a Democratic Administration, which I did my utmost to help place in power, inaugurated the utterly inexcusable policy of building this modern navy.

I protest against the policy outlined in this appropriation bill in the name of our common humanity, in the name of that superior type of civilization which the closing years of the nineteenth century are so happily developing—a civilization depending for its success, not upon the cruel methods of the barbarian, not upon the explosive quality of gunpowder and dynamite, not upon the conflagration of cities nor the annihilation or mutilation of multitudes of excited men, but upon the common sense of the citizen, upon a constantly growing sense of right and wrong, upon the rapidly developing intelligence of the people—a civilization that eloquently appeals to the nobler traits of our nature, to our moral and intellectual qualities.

Mr. Chairman, I believe a time comes in the history of every nation when immortal renown can be garnered by boldly departing from antiquated methods and untenable ideas. Such a time has now come to the people of these United States. Instead of continuing the clumsy, cruel and expensive agencies which an obedience to the merciless law which requires "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" makes necessary, we should yield to the new, the better inspiration of doing "unto others as we would have them do unto us." Instead of preparing for war, of which there is not the slightest prospect anywhere, we should with one accord become the fervent advocates of universal peace, and persistently urge upon other nations a general and a permanent disarmament. And, Mr. Chairman, is it not true that, in spite of all that is done to the contrary, modern thought is adjusting itself to this channel?

You may sit here in this House and appropriate all the public money you can get your hands upon, build all the great battle ships possible, and justify your action with "burning eloquence and faultless rhetoric;" other powers throughout the world may do the same, but let me tell you, my Democratic brethren, while this is being done, while you are passing these bills, the opinion, the judgment of the world is crystallizing, steadily but irresistibly, against the policy you are pursuing, crystallizing against the delusion that the progressive, marvellous civilization we are so rapidly developing can be successfully defended only with the sword and the torch.

Mr. Chairman, I am utterly unable to agree with the gentlemen who have made such eloquent pleas for the enlargement of our Navy. It seems to me these gentlemen fail to take into account the supremely important fact that the world is rapidly growing out of the conditions which in the past made war justifiable, or, if not justifiable, at least in some measure excusable. The "extenuating circumstances" (as lawyers term it) which may be cited to uphold war as it has been practised in the past, have lost their force and standing, and can not justly be used in our day as pretexts and excuses for the purpose of perpetuating a condition of things altogether out of harmony with the progressive spirit of the age.

Something over a century ago our forefathers made the

bold declaration that all men were created equal and that government by the people was the natural right of communities. This declaration startled the world, and it was both sneered at and resisted. But have we not demonstrated its truth with overwhelming success? The people of this country are to-day better prepared to make another bold move than our ancestors were for the task which they undertook.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the times are ready for the aggressive display of moral heroism. I believe mankind has reached that point in the unfolding of a superior civilization when the people of this country should step boldly to the front, courageously and aggressively champion the principles and the doctrines of universal peace, and urge with zeal and devotion the substitution of the peaceable, humane mode of arbitration for the confessedly barbarous methods of war. If we fail to lay hold of this opportunity to signalize our devotion to a system of moral ethics fundamentally correct, and thus wilfully reject the reward which is so temptingly offered, our folly will be inexplicable to our children and a source of regret to all our posterity. Whatever else may or may not happen, one thing is inevitable, fate has decreed it: namely, our civilization is developing conditions which, in the near future will, nay, must, emancipate civilized man everywhere from the unnatural, the unjust, the damnable servitude of the militant type.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the civilized nations of the earth are now standing upon the very border of a mighty change; I believe we are standing at the very door leading to a new era, and, though this door may as yet appear to be closed, I believe all that is necessary is that it be boldly pushed open, and there will be revealed to us a new land of promise, a new and a better time, when the nations of the earth will be bold enough and wise enough to repudiate antiquated methods and cut loose from the barbarisms and the superstitions to which we have so long and so tenaciously clung. A time when war, with its long list of wretched evils, will be heard of no more; a time when an appeal to our enlightened reason instead of to the sword, an appeal to the calm judgment of men instead of to their inflamed passions, an appeal to hard, common sense, instead of to false pride, will have the force that will suffice to settle national questions as well as international misunderstandings and controversies.

Mr. Chairman, a thousand influences, seen and unseen, known and unknown, are at work getting ready the material out of which will finally be constructed the emancipation proclamation that will release a long-suffering world from the crushing weight of militarism. In the short time allotted me I am precluded from going into details. I will call the attention of the House to but two of these influences. It is true they are antagonistic in their character or nature and are working from opposite directions, but are, nevertheless, working in entire harmony to accomplish the one happy result: namely, to eliminate war from our civilization.

The one influence or force is to be found in the intense conviction which is forcing itself upon the minds of all thinking men and women the world over, that war is altogether too barbarous a method to be any longer employed by any Christian nation in the settlement of any sort of controversy — the conviction that we have reached that period in the development of a higher and a nobler type of civilized life when war can be no longer recog-

nized as one of the determining factors of this superior civilization.

The other force or influence lies in the vast amount of knowledge we possess, and to which we are constantly adding, our knowledge of chemistry and mechanics enabling us to compound explosives and to construct weapons, the killing power of which is so terrible as not only to intimidate the raw recruit, but to send consternation to the heart of the bravest and the best disciplined army that can be mobilized and brought upon the gory field.

You, my Democratic friends, who intend to vote for this appropriation, ought to remember that the principal armies of the world are now equipped with a weapon, the destructiveness of which is so nearly perfect, that it will be possible, in case of another encounter, for only a small fraction of the contestants to escape annihilation. One more war, possibly only one more battle, and the destruction of human life will be so disgustingly bloody and murderous that mankind will be driven to a sober contemplation of the awful spectacle — will be driven to the conclusion that the last vestige of the militant type that exists among us must be forever and entirely suppressed. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, when we have once reached that point, which I am persuaded is not in the very distant future, then there will develop among us a purely untrammelled, industrial type. Men and women will grow up into better and purer beings, being controlled more by a sense of justice, and less by the demands of a selfish nature, and the nations of the earth will conform their conduct to a higher and a nobler standard.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the people of this country have it in their power so to shape their conduct in their intercourse with foreign nations; I believe the Democratic party, being the exponent of public opinion, has it in its power to enact such legislation in this free Republic as to hasten the advent of that blessed period of an eternal, unbroken peace of which prophets have so confidently prophesied, of which philosophers have so fondly speculated, and of which poets have so sweetly sung. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, I have prepared a resolution, which I will present to the House, and ask unanimous consent for its consideration, sometime in the near future, perhaps offer it in the shape of an amendment to the appropriation bill for the World's Fair, and I will conclude my remarks by reading it and calling the attention of the House and the country to the object aimed at.

Whereas, war has always been recognized as the most calamitous evil with which a nation can be stricken; and

Whereas, the trend of modern thought and the marvellous spread of intelligence among the masses of the people have combined to develop conditions in our civilization which render war less frequent than formerly and gives encouragement to the thought that by taking advantage of these conditions, war may, in the future, be altogether averted, and civilized man the world over released from the crushing weight imposed by enormous military and naval establishments; therefore

*Be it resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),* 1. That it is the duty of the people of the United States in the fulfilment of their true mission, to assume the leadership among the nations of the earth in the endeavor to bring about such mutual international compacts as will settle international controversies through the humane and peaceful mode of arbitration.

2. To give speed and efficacy to this movement, the President of the United States is authorized and directed to invite in an especial manner, the nations of the earth to send delegates to an international arbitration congress to be held during the summer of 1893, in the city of Chicago.

3. The President is further authorized and directed to cause it to be known by the nations thus invited that this Congress will be considered and treated by the Government and people of the United States as of paramount importance. It is to be accorded first rank among all the congresses which are to be held during the Columbian Exposition year, the question of which it is to treat and for which it is expected to find a practical solution, affecting more vitally than any other the enduring character and glory of our future civilization.

4. The sum of — is hereby appropriated to pay the expenses connected with and growing out of this congress, and to provide for the hospitable entertainment of the foreign delegates who may attend by authority of their respective governments,

And now, my Democratic brethren, in conclusion, let me appeal to you to forsake the policy that binds us to a dark and gloomy past, to a barbarous and a bloody history, and embrace a newer, a better gospel, a nobler inspiration that will link us to a brighter, a happier, a more glorious future. [Applause.]

#### LETTER OF THE PEACE SOCIETIES OF EUROPE TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETIES, MET IN ROME, APRIL, 1892.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

Persuaded that we shall be well understood by you, we address ourselves to you in all confidence.

Is not the same great idea the animating spirit of your cause and of ours: the humanitarian idea, which after several centuries of gestation has at last come to birth in our modern times, of which it is as it were the special characteristic.

In the name of this idea, you are laboring to mollify a barbarous custom. We are laboring to destroy it. Your desire is to render war more humane. You have, therefore, faith in the sentiments of pity and of justice which to us are the pledge of a future of peace and concord between all peoples.

Respect for the wounded, shown by him who has caused his blood to flow, the right to life asserting itself in the very midst of legalized carnage, pity immediately following violence, — all this would be nothing but bitter mockery, if in reality hatred and brutal instincts inflamed armies on the field of battle, if in the soldier the man were silent, if in the foreigner only an enemy were recognized.

You have already accomplished much. In the future there will no longer be real hatred between peoples, not even when pretended national interests shall bring them into war with one another. You have banished what was most cruel and monstrous in battles, — the massacre of those unable to defend themselves, the torture of the dying. You have multiplied the means of giving succor to the wounded. You have caused the agents of your humanitarian work to be respected in the fury even of the deadly struggle. You have done much, and you are still doing much.

But in this same human society which applauds your acts and your purposes, in the same governments which support your work, efforts are incessantly put forth to create the very evils which you are seeking to remedy, to render more powerless, in advance, all your efforts. A

latent war is nourished between civilized peoples by hoary prejudices, by the apathy of the masses, by the errors of diplomacy. While you are seeking to render less deadly the effects of battles, a notable portion of the press forgetting its own mission, seems to be studying to awaken the slumbering hatreds between peoples, at the same time poisoning their sentiments and their aspirations, by means of perpetual threats of war, and governments led astray, so to speak, squander the money of the civilized world in constructing instruments of death.

To-day, if a war should unhappily break out, your numerous ambulances, and your hospitals would not be sufficient. The powerful resources, in money and in men, prepared by your tireless efforts, would not prevent from perishing without succor the greater portion of the men whom improved engines of war should have disabled on the field of battle without killing them.

You, then, who are laboring earnestly for the good of men, and who do not despair of virtue, must desire, as we do, the cessation of war, and you certainly would be happy to see the day when civilized nations should no longer have need of your co-operation. That is why we come to you in confidence. That is why some months ago, the International Peace Congress at Rome voted to make an appeal to the noble women who form a part of your association, that they may form societies of women in favor of universal peace.

Unite with us, then, we pray you, in the work of the better preservation of society, cast a vote which shall render our causes common; oppose energetically war in all its forms, you who with the noble purpose of rendering it humane have virtually declared it to be barbarous.

MILAN, ITALY, April, 1892.

*For "la Società Internazionale per la pace (Unione Lombarda.)"*

E. CALDARA, Sec.

E. T. MONETA.

#### OFFER OF A PRIZE OF FIFTY POUNDS (£50) FOR A MODEL CHAPTER ON PEACE AND WAR, FOR INCORPORATION IN ELEMEN- TARY SCHOOL READERS.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND PEACE ASSOCIATION,  
40 and 41 OUTER TEMPLE, STRAND, LONDON.

1. The Council of the International Peace and Arbitration Association are desirous of doing what lies within their power towards the education of children, on the subject of Duty Towards Foreign Nations. It has long been felt that, in the interests of Unity, Peace and Concord, it is essential that correct ideas on this subject should be formed during childhood and youth.

2. It will be generally admitted that the unjust prejudices and unfriendly feelings which exist among every people towards foreigners, result from the absence of adequate ethical instruction in early life. It will be admitted, also, that if the citizens of one nation entertained a more correct and equitable judgment regarding the character and conduct of other nations, the dangerous spirit of contempt or hostility would gradually disappear.

3. There is, at present, not only an absence of direct teaching in schools and educational institutions in regard